1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15
Maricopa
Halchidhoma

CHAPTER V

MANUFACTURES

POTTERY

323 The Maricopa were essentially a pottery using people in the sense that the central Californians were basket users. To make the contrast even more explicit, we may compare them with a people in the same general area, the Havasupai, who, like themselves, used both pots and baskets. Where the Havasupai household had a dozen baskets standing about, where baskets were used for every domestic purpose, the Maricopa substituted pottery.

323 415 Every Maricopa household held innumerable pottery utensils: jars, bowls, parching pans, ladles, etc. Even today the common cooking pots in practically every house are of their own manufacture. Quantities of pottery are now made for the tourist [439] trade, which while differing somewhat in size, shape, decoration, and finish, are nevertheless made by the ancient technique. But despite the huge quantity they were accustomed to make, Maricopa pottery was, as a matter of fact, relatively a poor product.

323 [462] [868] Maricopa and Halchidhoma made pottery (kwĭlyaoma't) in exactly the same way. This was wholly a woman's occupation and a year-round task. They began at the art quite early: for instance, a five-year-old girl was seen following the mannerisms of her mother. She worked up a ball of mud, beat it flat on the bottom of an old pot with a paddle, and pinched up the sides to form a tiny vessel, which she set in the sun to dry.

The forms were almost wholly wide-mouthed vessels and bowls (Pl. VI)[1]. This is generally true of hand-made pottery the world over except in such areas of pottery specialization as Peru, in

[1] Specimens shown in Pl. VI, Washington State Museum: *a*, 2–211883; *b*, 2–11893; *c*, 2–11889; *d*, 2–11896; *e*, 2–11879; *f*, 2–11891; *g*, 2–11898; *h*, 2–11897; *i*, 2–11884.

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787 [533] learned, the person then smeared ashes over the man's lips, and, turning his back on him, struck him on the mouth, taking away the song. He told his daughters it was taken away because he talked too much. He was a notorious chatterer.

787 831 While it was decidedly advantageous for one to begin dreaming while still a child, there was real danger in overdoing it, in dreaming too much. A boy or girl "who dreamed too much of any one thing" would suffer a change of sex. "They had, in fact, too much of this dreaming; that is why they changed their mode of life. The change was caused by some spirit." Transvestites were never shamans; although they had been given the power [838] to cure and sing, they had been given too much. The other spirits might interfere, taking the boy and changing him into a [881] woman. Sex changed at puberty, "about the time the voice changed."

787 823 838 On the other hand, the same informant ascribed the transformation to a dream of a specific type. It was believed the Sierra Estrella had a berdache living inside, hence the name of the mountain, ʰvial,xa", "berdache mountain." "Any man who dreams of this will become a berdache." Another mountain at Yuma, called by the same name, also had the power to transform men. "As one sees them in dreams, the two mountains are young girls." The Sierra Estrella invited the mountain at Yuma to play games. If the Yuma mountain, e.g., lost, then the Yuma lost a man; he became a berdache. ("But to us as we now look at it, we would never think it could do this.")

The signs of transformation came early in childhood; which corroborates the statements that all courses of dreaming began at that time.

838 [868] When a boy begins to toddle, they would not think of letting him run around without bow and arrow, nor a little girl without a basket to use like her mother. But if the boy was going to become a berdache (ĺl,ȧxai': cf. cĺl,ȧxai'g, "girlish," mȧcȧxai, "girl"), he threw away his bow and took a basket or continually used a metate. Older people would comment, "He is going to turn out to be a berdache"; by his actions, they knew he would change sex.

If they did not wish to embarrass transvestites by calling them ĺl,ȧxai', the word yĕsa'a'n, "barren man or woman," was used.

588 838 Such transformations were rare. Kutox remembered but one berdache in his day and another in the previous generation, with not more than one transformed woman at a time. Berdaches behaved like women; gathering mesquite, etc. They always went about with women, not with men. They married men and had

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Boys also played a game, slinging mud at each other, in which they learned to dodge missiles without breaking from the skirmish line (see p. 338).

Girls were trained to carry little burdens balanced on their heads when they were but two years old. Later they assisted their mothers fetching water before sunrise. Girls of four could grind seeds very nicely, it was said: they were wakened when it was barely light and set to work on a basketful. A girl must show her proficiency at grinding such an amount at her marriage. I observed a little girl of five at play making pottery. Working with a ball of mud, she paddled it into form and pinched up the sides to form the vessel with the characteristic motions of an accomplished potter.

Children were not permitted to sleep after dawn. In fact, everyone in the household was roused at dawn, for to sleep after sunrise was to invite bad dreams causing sickness and death. The customs of running toward the dawn and throwing half-roused boys into the water were unknown here.

When children were old enough to understand, all the tales were told them, with a commentary of admonition. (Late youth was not the special time for them to learn as among the Pima.[11]) In winter the boys went into the meeting house when stories were being told. A grandmother would tell them to a group of girls. There was no objection to telling tales in summer, but winter nights were conveniently long. To keep children from having bad dreams early in the night, they were kept awake listening to stories.

Games were played, of course, in imitation of their elders, but not dice, hand game, or cañute, normally gambling games. Some sports were peculiar to children. Boys alone played at hurling darts, slinging mud, arrows; both boys and girls played with tops. Dolls (haʀâoi', "plaything") for girls were made of willow bark: a piece was split and bound to represent head, arms and legs.

Age status terms were few. They turned on the termination of

[11] Russell, *Pima Indians*, p. 191.